[567]
612 /20 cont./ households are the only non-kinsmen who live in
621 their kampong territory. /21/ In each case, therefore, one encounters two more or less strongly integrated groups of relatives per territory, with, in addition, a nonintegrated Rest group regarded as small and insignificant.

612 Furthermore, it appeared that members of one and the same related group lived scattered all over South Celebes. In this respect, too, there is therefore no question of unity between a related group and its territory. The reason for this is evident. For this it is first necessary to show how a related group should be conceived.

The territorial division taken as a starting point in the investigation described above has the advantage of making a sharp demarcation possible, namely a division between houses inside and outside the kampong border. The related group as a genealogical unit lacks these sharply defined boundaries. An individual frequently belongs to more than one group of relatives, and people who are closely related to each other, first cousins, for instance, thus often belong not only to a common kin group, but also to mutually distinct ones. This is a direct consequence of the fact that marriages are regularly contracted between people who are not of the same kin group.

582 A child resulting from such a marriage may contract an
611 endogamous marriage either in his father's group of relatives
612 or in that of his mother, because through his father he belongs to the latter's related group, and through his mother to hers. And where father and mother in their turn were born to a man and wife who were not related to each other, the same child can contract an endogamous marriage in any one of the four different groups of relatives of the four grandparents. After all, he belongs to four different groups of relatives.

612 It is clear that a division of the Makassarese into sharply distinguished groups of relatives is fully imaginary.. Each individual belongs to more than one group of relatives and would therefore also have to be apportioned to more than one such

612 /21 cont./ group. An individual has the choice, in such a case, as to which group of relatives he wants to join, and where he wants to live and work. The genealogical /22/ tie with the other group(s) remains in existence. Knowledge of this tends to disappear after one or a few generations.

574 602 It should not be expected that one would know all one's kinsmen who live in regions remote from each other. By paying visits and extended stays, the younger generation becomes acquainted with kinsmen residing in various districts. The older ones observe them through this; their character is gauged and their marriage opportunities are discussed. It depends upon the impression made by them whether they will be more or less welcome guests at a later visit.

602 It depends upon an individual himself whether in later years he will keep up the ties established in this way. Thus, while one Makassarese, questioned about kinsmen living elsewhere, is able to refer to merely one or two districts where these are supposed to live, another one, conscious of the fact that the possession of many connections increases his social standing, declares that he has kinsmen everywhere and seems to be able to cite many names of kampongs.

Endogamy

582 612 The statement that the related group is endogamous means that a great number of marriages are by preference contracted with a kinsman, and a small number with members of other groups of relatives. The figures given below are taken from a Kapala related group, that is to say, from a segment of this group living, and therefore registered, in Bontoramba.

Of the 89 married couples belonging to the segment of the Kapala group residing in Bontoramba, man and wife are related to each other in 79 cases, and in 10 they are not (1).

1. I am following the system of degree of relationship according

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/22 cont./ to which the parent-child relationship counts as one degree; brothers are therefore related in the second degree, and cousins /neven, French cousin/ in the fourth degree, and so on.

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If one pursues the reasons why these 10 married outside their related group, it appears that in 5 cases the marriage occurred after the couple had carried out silariang (2). In

2. A marriage by flight. For details of this, see Chapter III, third part.

this case the individuals concerned do not pay any attention to the existence of kin group ties. In the 5 other cases, the
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reason always given was that the strangers belonged to groups of relatives with which /23/ the older generation who brought about the marriages gladly entered into marriage ties in view of their social standing.

In 2 of these 5 cases, a female member of the related group married a stranger. In the other 3 cases, a man married a girl from outside. In the chapter on status we shall return to the marriage policy carried out by the older people. At present it is only necessary to point out that no special preference to marry either a boy or a girl outside the related group can be indicated, but rather that closer attention is paid with a girl than with a boy that she does not marry someone who is regarded to be even a trifle below her in standing.

582
The statement that the related group is endogamous signifies, therefore, that marriages are by preference contracted between kinsmen, but it says nothing further concerning the kinship connections which are regarded as important in this

582 /23 cont./ case. Upon analysis of these connections, there appears a clear preference for marriages with members of the same generation, and among these the most important place is occupied respectively by those between sampopinruang (sixth-degree male and female cousins) and by those between sampopintallung (eighth-degree male and female cousins).

Expressed in figures, this means that of the 69 ordinary, or festive, marriages (1) contracted between members of the

1. The total number of 89 must be reduced not only by 10 non-endogamous but also by 10 silariang marriages. A marriage is brought about either in a festive way or by way of silariang. In this latter case there is no question of a reasoned-out choice.

related group, in 60 cases the marriage partners were members of the same generation, and in 9 cases they were not. Of these 60 marriages, 8 were contracted between samposikali [601] (children of brothers or/and sisters; thus male and female cousins in the fourth degree), 30 between sampopinruang (children of samposikali, thus sixth-degree male and female cousins), and 22 between sampopintallung (children of sampopinruang, thus eighth-degree male and female cousins).

In the 9 marriages contracted between kinsmen of a different generation, the age difference of the spouses, with one exception, was no greater than that between members of the same generation. In the case of these marriages, a certain preference is to be noted for the marriage of a man to a woman of a lower /24/ generation over that of a man to a woman of a higher generation.

Marriages between children of brothers, between children of sisters, or between children of a brother and sister, are

582 /24 cont./ likewise contracted without any definite preference for one of these marriages being apparent.

582 602 Knowledge of kinship relationships does not go beyond the eighth- and ninth-degree kinsmen. Relatives further removed are "distant" (bella). If in rare cases people speak of a marriage between sampopingappa (tenth-degree male and female cousins; children of sampopintallung), one will probably hear the opinion expressed that this is an undesirable marriage. Others, however, do not seem to be aware of this.

Among the marriages contracted between sampopintallung (eighth-degree kinsmen), there probably also exist marriages of sampopingappa (tenth degree) or of kamanakang sampopintallung (ninth degree, thus, not members of the same generation). In such cases people are not certain any more about the exact relationships. Statements contradict each other, and in such cases of uncertainty there is a tendency to settle on that kin relationship which one regards as the proper and normal one for a marriage between kinsmen as the correct one.

The most common marriage is, therefore, the marriage between sampopinruang and sampopintallung (respectively, sixth- and eighth-degree male and female cousins) who at the same time are members of the same generation. Of all other marriages it is said that they are unfavorable or unlucky, or [565] else that they are forbidden. In the nobiliary related group there is a tendency to shift to samposikali and sampopinruang (the fourth- and sixth-degree male and female cousins respectively).

593 The Family

Two functions of the family /gezin/ will be discussed here.

The father officially occupies a predominant place in the family. The relationship to his sons is based upon the notion that he is in command and that it is impolite to contradict him (1). /25/ A son is supposed to know what is fitting, by

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
512 602 609 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together. In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

582 602 The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 556 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

563 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland
●582 in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages
583 is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on
563 lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong
184 residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the com-
563 mon language constitutes a unifying element for these
621 colonists.

The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

1:Chabot--80 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

582 583 563 197 192

	Total Number of Registered Houses	Total Number of Individuals	Men	Women	Festive Marriages	Silariang Marriages	Married Couple Related to Each Other	Married Couple Not Related to Each Other	Average Number of Individuals per House	Place of Origin	
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5 1/3	Galesong	7
										Lebakkang	10
										Pangkadjene	4
										Maros	4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5. 9	Galesong	28
										Lebakkang	9
										Segeri	2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5 1/3	Pangkadjene	1
										Maros	2
										Djeneponto	1
Total 1949	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5. 56		
Bontoramba 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6. 1		

565 /78 cont./ the other groups, and that it has the power to enforce this prohibition /79/ The special characteristics of the nobility serve as class prerogatives.

Among the lower /people/, this rarely gives rise to difficulties because in the majority of cases no one values the idea of taking over a special characteristic from just any other group.

565 582 The noble groups of relatives which live in the respective provinces are, like the nonnoble ones, not completely endogamous. Marriages between members of these groups who therefore live in two or more different provinces occur regularly. In this respect the noble related group acts like the lower ones.

114 565 The prince's group of relatives constitutes a well-integrated group whose efforts within the province is directed at maintaining the existing balance of power. Friederic gathered his material among the nobility. His description of the organization of the classes is in many respects the picture which one obtains of the society if one views it through the eyes of the nobility. He thus places great emphasis upon the characteristics which distinguish the nobility from the other groups, and upon the "intermediary classes" with terms applying to them. One of these terms is ana' tjera'. Among the nobility this designates a child of the marriage between a man of the nobility and a woman from the people.

565 602 Among the nobility class and kinship coincide to a great extent. A commoner can only be admitted into the nobility by way of kinship, that is to say, by marrying into the nobility. Such a marriage, however, does not immediately lead to complete admittance. Terms such as ana' tjera' regulate this. Admittance is accomplished only after several generations. These terms are therefore only in use among the highest class. They have a negative emotional quality. These terms are never heard among the people. To them a child of a mixed marriage is someone of noble blood, even after two or three generations. Such a person has standing just through "blood" alone.

114 174 565 586 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." [567] Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 174 565 582 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes. Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that, simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 174 565 [591] Of the four common characteristics, the mention of patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding. My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.
565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and
565 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
554 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived
565 at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
[554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

554 3. From this example it appears further that the general
602 notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
582 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang, information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
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602

582
583 /93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this
557 information of the Prince.
602 He gives the list as it is
fixed by him. But
lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment. [554] Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages 582 between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and 602 those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and are either absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli tjera').

554 In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
581 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
582 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /95 cont./ resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
674 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately
562 apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct.
565 The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's
582 group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals
626 or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility, New York and London, 1927, p. 133.

Each status /stand/ /group/ has its own external characteristics by which its members are differentiated from the others. Forms of social intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

554 565 576 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides in the house of her father's master may learn to make little cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social intercourse observed among household members and at daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in a soft tone of voice, she does not eat as ravenously as the others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other children. "She bears the sign of daëng X" (2), it is said

2. Bata piarana daëng X, literally, "the etiquette of nurture by daëng X."

582 557 approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of daëng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives and borrowed from the karëng's kin group in whose house the father had lived in his early years. The custom was then taught to the son. The father laughed happily; "He knows his manners," and by this he meant that his son had appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher. It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing. If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these
[582] qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng. Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

178 /116 cont./ 1. Legally, of course, such a declaration of emancipation has not the slightest significance since the official emancipation of all slaves by the government.
567

cases, however, the emancipation was brought about by the fact that children of slaves moved to other regions and there obtained the same opportunities as other independent individuals in their striving to rise. A family can be said to be still regarded as slaves in the kampong only if it is generally known that the respective parents were slaves, that at their marriage the slaves' sunrang was paid, and that this marriage was entirely regulated and provided for by the master, and if this couple has then continued to live in the same kampong, does not own any land there but works the land of the master, and further performs the customary tasks for him.

Put in general terms, this implies that in Borongloë, at present, contempt is expressed only when marriage possibilities are discussed. Then it appears that ordinary people (tau samara') prefer not to enter into marriage ties with such people. Their marrying chances -- and this applies particularly to the young men -- are limited. Further, I noticed a certain contempt only when, as an investigator, I made inquiries concerning their official position. The work that the slaves perform is the same as the work performed by many others who are regarded as followers.

[582]

In 1883, Kooreman did not mention slaves in his definition of the concept of followers. For him, slaves form a group apart. Friederic (2) in his analysis of Makassarese-Buginese

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2. See Friederic, idem., p. 582.

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
● [583] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary argument to explain the fact that a large number of women remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also used as an "explanation" for the existence of marriage by flight. It is safer to assume that in times like those after 1929, the number of marriages by flight increased somewhat through a gradual adjustment toward new relationships with regard to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance, cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts, and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
178 previous one.
435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

565 /172 cont./ standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the karaëng's kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /standen, here statuses?/ are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man
595 who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to
[626] the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The silariang institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/173/ Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;
[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should
[581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will become apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse
581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For
833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those
[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

582 /199 cont./ cohabitation, frequently with permanent physical
593 or psychic injuries for the rest of her remaining life. By child marriage, therefore, we understand here a marriage in which at least one of the two partners is not sexually mature. But then the conception of the matter given above is incorrect in two respects as regards South Celebes. In the first place, the bridegroom as well as the bride is not yet sexually mature in two of the four cases at my disposal. After the sealing of the marriage, the children did not live in the same house. They are supervised by the older people, and not until the girl has menstruated and the boy has begun to "crow" -- and this is sometimes the case only after several years, -- does ordinary cohabitation take place.

In the second place, even if the man is sexually mature and the girl is not, it is not necessary to be too fearful of the evil consequences of a child marriage. A man, after all,
[832] is /200/ taught that he must be tender and loving to his young wife, and that he must try to win her for himself gradually. Rough conduct in this respect on his part is disapproved even in an ordinary marriage.

582 It is clear that in child marriage in South Celebes the possibility of ill-treatment of the overly young girl is not excluded, nonetheless the possibilities for this are very limited. Child marriage has not been institutionalized here. It is contracted in cases where the older people have a stake in keeping the influence of the young individuals upon the choice of their marriage partners to a minimum.

However, in so doing, they still do not have the certainty that this marriage will also become "good." A girl
[833 who was not yet sexually mature at the contracting of her
593] marriage to an adult man resisted him for a number of years after menstruation had already set in. This was accepted by the husband as well as by her kinsmen. This is a case of a married couple where one partner desires no sexual union, and thereby causes the marriage to fail. In a section concerning

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

593 After some time it appears that in a number of these marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to
833 say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two
[586] wants to remarry, does divorce according /201/ to Moslem law take place. This is not much more than a formality which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikang ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

586 593 162 /204 cont./ Of the total of seven marriages in which the partners did not live together, though they were not divorced according to Moslem rites, four were childless.

Four of these seven married couples belonged to the Kapala group (525 persons) and three to the Mangenre group (90 individuals).

The number of divorces among people residing in the adat community of Borongloë (around 14, 000 persons) who were recorded in the registers designed for this purpose from July 1, 1948 to July 1, 1949 amounted to seven. The percentage of divorced adult women was, according to the 1930 Census Report 1.7 per cent for the whole of Goa (1). My

1. Verslag van de Volkstelling, 1930, Part V, p. 69.

figures are too small to be expressed in percentages./205/ However, they show clearly that even in comparison with other districts, the number of divorces in this region is small.

Selection of Marriage Partners on the Basis of Kinship

582 We have already pointed out that marriages between members of the same family /nuclear family/ are forbidden.

Marriages between housemates are regarded as unfavorable (1). The marriage of a widow's son to the daughter of a

1. Unfavorable in this section is a translation of the Makassarese word, bambang, which means "warm."

582 /205 cont./ widower, where the widow and widower had remarried and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, [601] genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, [593] there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as [565] unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Borongloë. In these circles greater

565/582 /206 cont./ value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes, one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married (a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable. The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and [828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears that the second marriage will fail for the same reason. Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first marriage by having the second marriage take place from another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was prepared to react differently in this second marriage than in the first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies, where a young woman is introduced saying:

[539]

> "I would rather be a fallow
> piece of land, an unplowed
> sown field, than having a
> buffalo run over me who has
> already been under the yoke
> once."

[576] Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

582 /206 cont./ The marriage of an oldest son in a family to the oldest daughter of another is regarded as unfavorable (1), even if both are cousins of the sixth degree, for instance.

1. Makassarese: Ulua siagang ulua nabambang.

/207/ If a couple is married, the marriage of the husband's brother to a sister of his wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "piling up bamboos" (tambung palapa). This [565 184] marriage occurred in the karaeng group of relatives. The marriage partners were first cousins, probably a sign of a limited choice of marriage partners. It is unclear whether this marriage was also regarded as unfavorable by karaeng.

When a couple is married, the marriage of his sister to a brother of the wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "the closing of the crossbeam" (sisuluru palangga). Instances of this in Borongloë are unknown to me.

The marriage of a man to the sister of his wife is forbidden. This prohibition is based upon Moslem law (1).

1. See T. W. Juynboll, Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet volgens de leer der Sjâfi'itische school /Guide to the Knowledge of the Mohammedan Way according to the Dogma of the Shafiite School/, third edition, 1925, p. 185.

The marriage of a man and woman who as children were nursed by the same woman is regarded as prohibited in some cases. The prohibition is based upon Moslem dogma (1).

1. Ibid.

582 /207 cont./ Suckling kinship is thought to exist where a child under two years of age has been nursed by a woman five times to its full satisfaction. Among the Makassarese, nursing 853 by the mother occurs at irregular times. If the child so much 582 as makes a sound, it is put to the breast. If the mother does not have enough milk, she is helped out. Preferably a sister or a cousin (samposikali) of the mother takes the child to her breast. Under these conditions it is difficult to prove that a young man or a young woman some twenty years before were both nursed by one and the same woman. Among religious families in the city of Macassar, women take care that they do not nurse a child of a sister or cousin lest difficulties arise later when they arrange marriages. In one of these kin groups, a marriage did not go through even though preparations were far advanced, because the suspicion had been uttered that bride and bridegroom had both been nursed by the bridegroom's mother. The young man was then married to a younger sister [184] of the bride. /208/ In Borongloë nothing was noticed by me of the awareness of this marriage prohibition based upon suckling kinship (1).

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1. A mother of several children whose milk had continued to flow frequently nursed her grandchildren of approximately the same age as her youngest children. The nipple of an old woman who no longer produced any milk was used by the recently born child of her daughter as a pacifier. When a woman is pregnant (when the menstruation has stopped for several months),

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853 /208 cont./ amma'daëng (mother daëng). Being a wet nurse is called hereditary, in the sense that one likes to see that where a woman has a nurse, the daughter of this nurse is again the wet nurse for the daughter of this woman. A young mother of high nobility is said to be modern if she nurses the child herself. A marriage of a noble person with someone who is related by suckling kinship to him is out of the question.

[565]

[582]

582 Finally, it is considered natural to marry a kinsman. In the case of marriage to someone who is not related there is mutual insecurity. Such a marriage always has a practical purpose. People want to extend the circle of their connections, and sometimes it is believed to serve one's aspirations to rise best of all in this fashion. But in the case of such a marriage, the chance of failure is considered greater than in that to a kinsman. "Do not creep out" (teako alamba' assulukii) is said to one who has plans of marrying off his child outside the kin group.

[557]

Since a marriage to a non-kinsman, to a person of a different generation, and to a contemporary of the fourth and the tenth degree, is always regarded as unfavorable, there remains merely the possibility of marriage between contemporaries of the sixth and eighth degree. That is the marriage which, according to the figures given above (see pages 29 and 30), is, at the same time, the most frequent.

582 585 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 582 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden. It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 554 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in [731] such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

684 The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of [692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

684 692

1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

684/209 cont./ 692

punished by the native courts of law. Incest and, a fortiori, the contact situation of a man with a higher woman is not entered as an offense in the Penal Code. As a result, persons guilty of incest cannot, on the whole, be punished through government jurisdiction. In these districts the administration gives them protection in the form of a very brief punishment pronounced by the magistrate's court (elsewhere the district court, old style), coupled with the advice not to return to the kampong. This applies equally to violation of rules concerning contact between a man and a higher woman.

554 582 Prohibition of hypergamy is a well-known phenomenon in many cultures. In South Celebes the sharp reaction to transgression is the only striking thing. An explanation of this circumstance therefore will only be attempted.

554 A Makassarese occupies toward his equals and near equals a position of constant opposition. A fixed vertical articulation has not come about. His female relatives, and primarily his sister, constitute for him the point of departure in his striving to /210/ rise. They are a fixed point for him in this respect.

177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
● 582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

[95 cont.]
793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293 ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
778] the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[774 the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and
other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were
reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had
the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his
property. [96] His power was extended more and more because
he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this
gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-
[636 ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634] Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and
given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people,
however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their posi-
tion from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[631] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form
larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as
well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and
Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes,
the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom
formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among
the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
644 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because
many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treat-
ment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng,
sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became.
The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural
work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In
exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client
in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary
and could be severed by either side.

[614] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

[96 cont.]

M 582 583 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Nevertheless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the M 586 relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the M 562 mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

B 621 631 d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional communities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B 592 594 It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense, B [769 778] which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings. B 631 Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B 621 Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B [771 174] The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by

Makassar OGB
Minangkabau OD10
Javanese OE5
Ambon OH4
Kubu OD8

I [295 cont.]
585 their virginity to a stranger in the temple of Mylitta.
836 It should suffice to note here that I have tried to give an
121 explanation of this matter in my essay on the primitive forms of marriage.

We thus find as a rule among most of the peoples that the girl does not marry as a virgin, either as a result of the jus primae
MK noctis of the father or because she is permitted to surrender her-
Mn self to utter licentiousness before marriage. There are some
J peoples, however, who are an exception to this rule among whom
836 maidenly chastity is prized and even required as a condition for
582 marriage, for example, among the Javanese, the Malays of the Padang Highlands, the Makassarese and Buginese, etc. Among a few of these peoples, it is even customary to verify the woman's virginity publicly. Among the Madurese, for example, two women, after an examination, state that the bride is still a virgin, after which, among prominent people, cannon shots are fired, whereas in the opposite case, the young man has the right to terminate the marriage. Among the Makassarese, too, something similar takes place. [296] The cases where virginity is prized, however, are limited to only a few peoples; the opposite, as we have said, is the rule. We can therefore say that
A the latter must have formerly prevailed in general as we still
582 find it among the Batak. We learned from the Ambonese that even Christianity and Islam have failed to alter this.

I While chastity before marriage leaves much to be de-
837 sired, it seems that as a rule strict morality is observed during marriage, at least the men demand this of their wives. This is the case among nearly all peoples, and adultery is punishable, or at least was formerly, by death for the guilty parties, or, more precisely, the husband has the right to kill the man whom he catches in the act of adultery with his wife. Not all peoples,
K however, value the woman's chastity during marriage. Some
837 see nothing wrong in their wives' association with others. Among
574 some one even finds the peculiar custom of relinquishing the

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
582 another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
829 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman. I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

000R oman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.

565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
●582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friederic y said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to thei r own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friederic y. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

198 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard
563 something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
161 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
582 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

M 6655 521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic[illegible]life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

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M 602 171

M T 582 563 771

Makassar OG6
Toradja OB11

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friederícy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
585 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
831 time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.

842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
641 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

although he told me that they were "his people". He said that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And even later, when they are no longer able to perform as padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry. The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot, and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, dead-pan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth. The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about before the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

535 565 567 [435 582] 574 431 181 576 567 [292]

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

Makassar OG6
Toradja OG11

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actually regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners. He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves. M 567

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). M 565 851 582 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kampong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called "To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. M 563 T 186 167 191 177 M 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully. 582

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two M 764 174 [563]

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13) (cont.) 162 565

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-SW (2)	60-50	None	E 1
	30-30	Unknown	D 2
CM-SW (None)			

F. Interclass Marriages: Taboo Cases (3)

NW-CM (2)	40-45	Peddler	C 6
	20-25	Goldsmith	A 21
NW-SM (None)			
CW-SM (1)	70-85	None	D 4

G. Class of Children of Aberrant and Taboo Marriages

NM-CW	N	But before, commoner.
NM-SW	C	Before, same.
CM-SW		No cases.
NW-CM	C	Taboo before.
NW-SM		No cases.
CW-SM	C	But before, slave.

Formerly, in allowing a higher man to marry a lower woman, the rule was that children would be dropped one class. Now the same is done for a noble man marrying a slave woman, although the child of a noble man-common woman marriage is a commoner. There are no cases of a common man marrying a slave woman. 565 851 582

Formerly marriage between a lower man and a higher woman was taboo. Now such marriages result in the lowering by one class of the status of children resulting from such a marriage, if the man is a commoner and the woman a noble. However, the class of the children follows that of the higher parent if the man is a slave and the woman a commoner. The marriage of a slave man to a noble woman is evidently still taboo.

H. Sailors 162

Former	10
Still	4
Total	14

I. Moved into Kampong

From other Makassarese areas	61
From Buginese areas	2
From Java	5
Total	68

J. Working or Have Worked outside Kampong

In other Makassarese areas	7 (except sailors)
In other Celebes areas	0 (except in-migrants)
In Java	2
In Borneo	3
In Ambon	1
In other Moluccas	1
Total	14